FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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"THE SACRIFICE FOR LIBERTY."

(This beautiful poem was handed to Captain Black by an unknown person, on the funeral train going to Waldheim, November 13, 1887; and was read by that devoted advocate to the thousands assembled at the cemetery. It was afterward published in the Labor-Enquirer, of Chicago.)

Under the cruel tree,
Planted by tyranny,
Grown in barbarity,
Fostered by wrong;
With steady, soldier pace,
With simple, manly grace
Each hero took his place,
Steady and strong.

Wearing their robes of white
As saints or martyrs might,
Calmly in conscious right,
Faced they the world.
While on each face upturned,
Sternly their sad eyes burned
Reproach for blame unearned,
Hatred had hurled.

Hatred, dull eared and blind,
Hatred, of unsound mind,
Hatred, which gropes to find
That which is worst;
How could it judge a heart,
Where wrong and suffering start
The throbbing valves apart,
E'en till they burst?

How could it hear the call,
Through life's grim silence fall,
Sounding to waken all
Those souls who sleep?
How could it see the height,
That to those eyes was bright,
Where as a sun in might
Freedom shall sweep?

Not for the hearts that bled,
Not for the bride unwed,
Children and wives unfed,
Should our tears flow;
But for the palsied brains,
But for the stagnant veins,
For the greed that sucks its gains
From human woe.

One with a gentle word,
One with a sob unheard
Of warming love; a third
With triumph's cry,
Meeting the rope's embrace;
Of gallows' old disgrace
Making a holy place
Thus did they die.

And when in later days,
Bards all sing lofty lays
In freedom's makers' praise,
Their names shall live;
And hearts which cannot sing
Shall the pure incense swing
Of love, that all may bring,
That each will give.

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MEMORIES OF NOVEMBER 11.

Every progressive movement of the world has had its martyrs. We may not be able to see why no great step forward can be taken without a terrible sacrifice of life and liberty and happiness; but the earth's history shows us that every chain forged by centuries of custom that is broken, costs the lives of many heroic men and women. The hatred and intolerance which brings about the deaths of some of the world's best men, seem inevitable parts of the great whole. To move onward at all, means the continuance of the everlasting clash and struggle between the conserving and the progressive forces.

Yet we must weep for the sacrifice and suffering, which belong to our own day. We are human; and the present, with its loves, hopes, achievements, its relations and inter-relations, is very dear to us. We cannot cease to regret that which has gone out of our lives, though we know that these losses are but factors in the very work in which we are engaged.

Thirteen years have passed, since the completion of that tragedy which marks the closing years of the nineteenth century. We, who were with the martyrs of that time, who worked with them, stood with them in the hours of persecution and danger, upon whom the shock of that awful, closing scene fell with all its keenest force, can never cease to mourn; those who though farther from them, carried them in their sympathies and affections day by day, still bear their memories tenderly in their hearts. But grief is not for daily parade. Yet it is meet that on this anniversary, this one significant day of the year, we revive the old thoughts and tell the story anew.

For the benefit of the younger workers in our cause, and for those who will pause to listen who still believe that our martyrs were but miscreants who suffered a just punishment, we ought to be willing to relate again and again the events of the sad martyrdom. We who know the whole truth are few in numbers; we have but few means of promulgating our thoughts; we are still misrepresented and misjudged. The rich and powerful who sacrificed our noble workers have a thousand methods of influencing the people. Therefore it behooves us who know the truth to tell and re-tell the tale of conspiracy and persecution as often as possible, though we may be unable to say anything new at these yearly commemorations.

During the years of 1884, '85 and '86, labor matters were in a turmoil. New situations were presenting themselves. A new class was growing up in this country, in this nation where all were supposed to be workers, free and equal before the law. It was only in 1877 that the existence of a WORKING CLASS, aside from chattel slavery, was recognized here in America at all. It was realized then that the same causes which produced a "lower class" in the old countries, were at work here and carried with them the same inevitable results. The working people themselves were the last to realize that they WERE a class—a class without privileges, without power, without the opportunity to toil unless granted permission, without the right to say under what conditions and for what pay they would labor. When it began to dawn upon them, they grew restless and turbulent. The great strike of '77 was followed by many others. The employing class was astonished at the audacity of their workers, and from the first showed very little mercy. In the strikes of the early eighties, it will be remembered, the militia was called out at the least excuse; and shooting was a common thing. No humane considerations were allowed to interfere with the determined "putting down" of the restless, discontented masses. The soldiers fired into the people at Milwaukee, at St. Louis, at Lemont, Ill., and in Chicago; and terrorized the workers in Spring Valley and many other places. The working people became panic-stricken, helpless—they could not comprehend the situation—they needed leaders. Men arose to the occasion, as is always the case; men of ability who had studied the growth of the world's economic systems, who understood the present and could see into the future, and who knew how necessary it was that the people should understand and make a stand for their liberties, which they had been so blindly sure they possessed.

Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Schwab, who were already old radical workers, now threw themselves body and soul into the movement for better conditions for all workers, by writing, speaking and circulating literature. They joined the eight-hour movement, because it seemed to offer the best field for agitation. But they confined themselves to no one line of work; wherever a chance presented itself for the spread of libertarian ideas, there they could be found. Spies made trips to Pennsylvania, to Ohio and Michigan; Parsons also traveled through the eastern mining districts, and to Missouri, Kentucky and Kansas; Fielden, though a day laborer at home, made several eventful trips. The others, while not being public speakers, were as faithfully carrying on their special lines of work and furnishing the financial means for agitation, organizing trades unions and International groups, and mingling and talking with working people everywhere. Their keen comprehension of the situation, their sincerity and earnestness, their ready sympathies, by which they so quickly reached the hearts of the people, their tact and ability, soon made them a power in the land. The capitalists began to fear them; from fearing, they grew to hate them, and to wish for their destruction. For them to wish, was to do.

Somehow, soon, by some means, these men were to be forever silenced. Bonfield said he "only waited a chance to find the d——d Anarchists together without their wives and children, to wipe them off the face of the earth." But The Citizens' League made shrewder plans.

No one living now, perhaps, knows just what was conspired. We only know that at a quiet meeting, at a moment when it was about to break up and go home, policemen were marched upon the scene and the people ordered to disperse; that a bomb was thrown by some unknown hand into the ranks, that the police began to fire savagely, and that many innocent citizens were killed; that Spies, Fischer, Fielden, Schwab, Engel, Neebe and Lingg, were arrested the next morning, and a warrant got out and rewards offered for Parsons; that the trial came on, and Parsons of his own accord came into court; that the jury was packed, the judge prejudiced, the evidence perjured, the rulings were all in favor of the State, and the evidence for the defence thrown out at every possible excuse; that every means was resorted to to prejudice the jury; and that finally the prisoners were sentenced, and in due time were murdered. We know that Fielden was still speaking, and that Spies stood behind him at the moment the bomb was thrown; that Engel, Lingg and Neebe were not at the Haymarket meeting at all; that Schwab was away in another part of the city addressing a meeting of Germans; that Parsons and Fischer were a block from the scene; yet all these men were included in one sweeping sentence, which condemned seven of them to death and one to a long term of imprisonment! That Fielden and Schwab were afterward sent to prison, and later with Oscar Neebe were released by the noble humanitarian, John Altgeld, was not due to any impulse of generosity in the hearts of the capitalists of that day.

It is the first time in the history of the world that men were tried for a principle, and sentenced for a murder. But at all hazards, the purpose of those capitalists had to be carried out.

The vindictiveness of the class in power could do no more. They had never been able to bring from their private lives one single thing to blacken their names. It is very seldom in history that so many men of such integrity, uprightness, ability and strength of character, become united in one work, in one city. Their domestic relations were particularly harmonious; their personal friends

were numerous, devoted, warm in their admiration and affection. Wherever they were known, they were loved; even the employes of the jail which they occupied for eighteen months liked them, and gave them as many favors as they dared; not one of them would have taken a step toward carrying out the sentence, but for the superstition of the "sanctity of the law" which excuses any crime if done in the name of the "State." Every one who knew them personally, knew that all they had done had been from a deep, sincere desire to benefit humanity. Some day the whole world will know this. Their epitaphs will be written in the hearts of the people, not alone on the stone in beautiful Waldheim.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

Denver, Colo.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES.

The spirit with which our comrades met the unjust doom assigned to them is well exhibited in their addresses before the court which sentenced them to death. Their ringing utterances show no craven weakness, no apologetic pleading for mercy. In conscious integrity, they stood erect, and tore the mask of hypocrisy from the faces of the plotters against their lives and our liberties. The brief extracts which follow give but a feeble conception of the force, amounting often to sublime eloquence, with which, one by one, they hurled back the groundless accusations of their enemies, laid bare the glaring perjuries by which their lives were sworn away, defended the cause of the people, and expounded the noble ideals of the cause for which they were about to die:

"You have taught the destruction of society and civilization," says the tool and agent of the Bankers' and Citizens' Association, Grinnell. That man has yet to learn what civilization is. It is the old, old argument against human progress. Read the history of Greece, of Rome; read that of Venice; look over the dark pages of the Church, and follow the thorny path of science. "No change! No change! You would destroy society and civilization!" has ever been the cry of the ruling classes. They are so comfortably situated under the prevailing system that they naturally abhor and fear even the slightest change. Their privileges are as dear to them as life itself; and every change threatens these privileges. But civilization is a ladder whose steps are monuments of such changes! Without these changes—all brought about against the will and the force of the ruling classes—there would be no civilization. As to the destruction of society, which we have been accused of seeking, sounds this not like one of Æsop's fables—like the cunning of the fox? We, who have jeopardized our lives to save society from the fiend—the fiend who has grasped her by the throat; who sucks her life-blood, who devours her children—we, who would heal her bleeding wounds, who would free her from the fetters you have wrought around her; from the misery you have brought upon her—we her enemies! Honorable judge, the demons of hell will join in the laughter this irony provokes!—August Spies.

We want to educate the masses and keep them back from destroying life and property; but we are not able to hold the masses when starvation brings them out of their holes like rats. I have walked along the streets of this city, and I have seen the rats come from their holes by the hundreds in the basements, where men pay five and ten cents for lodgings. I have seen the miserable wretches there in the day begging for a piece of bread; and in the night they lie there in an air that was difficult to breathe. I have been there at 10, 12, and 2 o'clock at night; and when those "rats" are let out of their holes and get desperate, I would not like to be near them. The time will come that you will see them. You rich men don't want the poor educated. You don't want anybody to be educated. You want to keep them down in the mud, so you can squeeze the last drop of blood out of their bones.—Oscar Neebe.

But if the ruling class thinks that by executing us, hanging a few Anarchists, they can crush out Anarchy, they will be badly mistaken, because the Anarchist loves his principles better than his life. An Anarchist is always ready to die for his principles; but in this case I have been charged with murder, and I am not a murderer. You will find it impossible to kill a principle, although you may take the life of men who confess these principles. The more the believers in just causes are persecuted, the quicker will their ideas be realized. For instance, in rendering such an unjust and barbarous verdict, the twelve "honorable" men in the jury box have done more for the furtherance of Anarchism than the convicted could have done in a generation. This verdict is a death-blow against free speech, free press, and free thought in this country, and the people will be conscious of it, too.—Adolph Fischer.

I protest against the conviction, against the decision of the court. I do not recognize your law, jumbled together as it is by the nobodies of by-gone centuries; and I do not recognize the decision of the court. My own counsel have conclusively proven from the decisions of equally high courts that a new trial must be granted us. The State's attorney quotes three times as many decisions from perhaps still higher courts to prove the opposite; and I am convinced that if, in another trial, these decisions should be supported by twenty-five volumes, they will adduce one hundred in support of the contrary, if it is Anarchists who are to be tried. And not even under such a law, a law that a schoolboy must despise, not even by such methods they have been able to "legally" convict us. They have suborned perjury to boot.—Louis Lingg.

Can any one feel respect for a government that accords rights only to the privileged classes, and none to the workers? We have seen but recently how the coal barons combined to form a conspiracy to raise the price of coal, while at the same time reducing the already low wages of their men. Are they accused of conspiracy on that account? But when workingmen dare ask an increase in their wages, the militia and the police are sent out to shoot them down.

For such a government as this I can feel no respect, and will combat it, despite its power, despite its police, despite its spies.

I hate and combat, not the individual capitalist, but the system that gives him those privileges. My greatest wish is that workingmen may recognize who are their friends and who are their enemies.

As to my conviction, brought about as it was through capitalistic influence, I have not one word to say.—George Engel.

"Why should it be that we should kill each other for the amusement of the Roman nobles?" And I say now, in an era in which there is an intense struggle for existence among the class that has no money or property, that it is a struggle for the amusement of the property nobles. The children that play together in the streets of Chicago and the villages that dot this continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will grow up and engage in a life and death struggle for existence, for the amusement and for the benefit of nobody but their masters, the American nobles. I say, my friends, as you draw the line tighter and tighter, the conflicts that are going on and will go on between these men, will array them against their masters. If I can say anything in the interests of humanity, in the interests of liberty, equality, and fraternity, I would say it now. Take heed, take heed! The time, my friends, is not far off. The swift process of reduction of the masses into a condition of depravity and degradation, as is evinced by the number of men out of employment, shows us clearly where we are going. We cannot deny it. No thinking man, no reasoning man, no friend of his kind, can ignore the fact that we are going rapidly on to a precipice. If I call a halt, I consider that in the interest of humanity. I have merely spoken and told the people what was the natural result of present existing conditions.—Samuel Fielden.

I am an Anarchist. Now strike! But hear me before you strike. What is Socialism, or Anarchism? Briefly stated, it is the right of the toiler to the free and equal use of the tools of production, and the right of the producers to their product. That is Socialism. The history of mankind is one of growth. It has been evolutionary and revolutionary. The dividing line between evolution and revolution, or that imperceptible boundary line where one begins and and the other ends, can never be designated. Who believed at the time that our fathers tossed the tea into Boston harbor, that it meant the first act of the revolution separating this continent from the dominion of George III, and founding this republic in which we, their descendants, live today? Evolution and revolution are synonymous. Evolution is the incubatory state of revolution. The birth is the revolution—its process the evolution.—Albert R. Parsons.

REMNISCENCES OF NOVEMBER 11.

During the last few weeks just prior to November 11, 1887, there were set on foot several important movements in behalf of our condemned comrades. Among the most important was the Amnesty Association, which was organized principally for the purpose of circulating petitions, obtaining signatures, and working in conjunction with the Defence Committee. When it was decided to petition the governor for a commutation of sentence, two forms of a petition were gotten out. The first was a dignified, straightforward document, demanding justice for the condemned men, on the ground of their innocence of crime. A thousand or more of this form were printed; but owing to strong opposition—mainly on the part of the lawyers of the defence—their circulation was stopped before many had been distributed. A meeting was called, which at one time threatened to be a stormy one. It was deemed advisable by the majority of those present, for the sake of policy, to assume a more humble attitude; and it was decided to print a petition containing a tacit confession of wrong doing by the prisoners. I was bitterly opposed to this change, and spoke against it; but for the sake of peace and harmony, and fearful that my position might do injury to our comrades, I withdrew my active opposition; and the new petition, couched in very diplomatic language indeed, was adopted. The fact of the matter is that many of our comrades and friends were influenced to a great extent by the optimistic views of our attorneys, and were almost confident, even after the United States Supreme Court had decided against us, that the governor of Illinois would commute the sentence of our condemned comrades. I never had any such feeling. I felt sure that our comrades were marked for sacrifice; that it was a deliberate plot of a few men, rich and powerful, to have them hung; and I had no hope of intervention on the part of the governor of the State. This was principally why I was anxious to maintain the dignity of their position at all hazards. If they were to be hung, I wanted to know that they and their friends awaited the tragic end, with a dignified protest against their unjust imprisonment and death. I felt confident that the men themselves did not wish to appear to pose before the world as repentant criminals; and that their dearest friends took the same view of the matter. I may have been mistaken. Viewed from the standpoint of expediency, I probably was mistaken, for the new petitions were circulated by the thousands; and very many more signatures were obtained than could possibly have been secured to the other petition.

Those were days of intense anxiety. All kinds of rumors of attempts at rescue were floating about. Probably no other man in the city of Chicago knew better than I what foundation there was for such rumors; but the prisoners had already strongly discouraged all such attempts; and I felt certain that their wishes in this regard would be respected where they were known. But even without hope of executive clemency, and with the certainty that none of the plans of rescue which were known to the prisoners would be carried out, I still felt that in some way this terrible crime must be averted. I have never been able to fully understand my own feelings at that time; but it is probable that I had a wild hope that help would come from some unexpected quarter. Many comrades and sympathizers from distant cities had arrived in Chicago with a set purpose in view; and it was not unlikely that some desperate deed might be attempted which would have ended either in the liberation of our comrades, or in a most terrible vengeance.

The work of the Amnesty Association in distributing petitions and obtaining signatures was of great value. More than a dozen improvised tables were set up in as many different parts of the city, on the Sunday before the eleventh, at the doors of the principal churches. One stand was placed at the entrance to the City Hall, where the central police headquarters was located. This last was frequently kicked over and demolished, and the attendant in charge of the table assaulted by the vicious detectives who swarmed about police headquarters. Thousands of signatures were obtained in this way; and up to the time of Lingg's alleged suicide, it seemed as if a revolution of public feeling in favor of the condemned had indeed taken place. The authorities became alarmed; and everything was done through the press and in other ways to stem the rising tide of public protest. Then came the startling report of Lingg's attempt to take his own life; and the change of feeling on the part of the fickle people was complete. From this time on, it

was impossible to obtain any more signatures to the petition. Loud and clamorous grew the demand for death; and even the most sanguine of our friends ceased to hope.

Was this a deliberate plot of the authorities, conceived in revengeful hatred and murderously carried out, to stop the advancing tide of public favor? Perhaps the exact truth will never be known. For my part, I have never believed in the story of Lingg's suicide. All the attendant circumstances rendered it improbable of design, and well nigh impossble of execution. Lingg had repeatedly declared his abhorrence of self-murder. Even more perhaps than the others, he gloried in his approaching martyrdom. Besides, the precautions which had already been taken by his jailors made such an attempt impossible. It is said that Lingg took his own life, by exploding a dynamite cartridge in his mouth. When the complete history comes to be written, the absurdity of such a charge will surely be shown.

On the morning of November 11, after accompanying Mrs. Holmes and Mrs. Parsons to the center of the city, I there left them, and went to attend an important meeting of a committee in the office of a prominent attorney. While seated in his office, a man came in, apparently in great distress of mind: with choking voice and tears coursing down his cheeks, he dictated an affidavit to the effect that he had been forced by threats and bribery by States-Attorney Grinnell to act as a stool-pigeon—to post witnesses and manufacture evidence. "I did not realize what I was doing," he said brokenly. "Lately, when the execution is so near, I have been struck with remorse. I do not believe in their doctrines; but I don't want to be instrumental in their death. They never harmed me, and I ought not to have listened to Grinnell. I am ready to do anything, if I can make them reparation." This is but one of the many instances which show the savage vindictiveness of this public prosecutor, and the class which he represented.

One could multiply incidents and reminiscences of those eventful days indefinitely; but space is limited. Many little incidents connected with the tragedy, and which have not been published, could be told, all of dramatic interest, and more clearly showing the determination of the moneyed class to sacrifice the boys at any cost. Perhaps these will sometime be gathered together in the form of a book or pamphlet, and be preserved for future generations. WILLIAM HOLMES.

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ANARCHY.

The simple meaning of the word "Anarchy" is "no government." Anarchy is a thoughtfully reasoned philosophy, expounded by many of the keenest intellects of the day. It is plainly avowed by Peter Kropotkin, a Russian prince of the highest rank, and one of the foremost scientists of the day; Elisee Reclus, who ranks second to no man living as a geographer; Gabrielle d'Annunzio, the brilliant Italian novelist; Tolstoi, the great Russian writer and thinker; Ibsen, the wonderful Scandinavian dramatist, and many others whose names are highly honored in art, literature, and science. A host of others, who do not openly profess to be Anarchists, show strong sympathies with the basic principles, which can have no other possible outcome in logic than that represented by Anarchy. Among these, are Herbert Spencer, and other scientists; practically the whole literary and artistic world of France, Italy, and Scandinavia; George Brandes, prince of critics; Thomas Hardy, George Meredith, Edward Carpenter, Robert Buchanan, Julian Hawthorne, and many more whom the world delights to honor. What other social philosophy comes equally recommended?

Nevertheless, Anarchy is before all the cause of the common people. The most thoughtful members of the literary and scientific world render to the Anarchist philosophy the tribute of an intellectual acceptance; but it is among the working-classes that the real propaganda is mainly carried on. It is the proletarian, on whom the burden of unjust conditions presses most heavily; it is he who suffers most from the process of mutual exploitation, from which none is exempt; it is he who produces the world's wealth, the mass of which falls into the hands of those who render so little service to the race, as to deserve the name of parasites; it is he who has the least to lose, and the most to gain, by a change in the industrial conditions; it is he who seeks most earnestly for the remedy, which shall restore to labor its due, and render this earth an abode of justice; it is he who has made the revolution of the past, and will make those of the future. The message of Anarchy is to all, and its mission to right every wrong. It would replace consciousness of class with consciousnes of kind. To fulfil this end, the conditions which beget class consciousness must give way to a social order in which individuality shall have free play, and wherein parasitism and exploitation shall be unknown.

Government, in whatever way considered, is an invasion of the individual. By virtue of this, its one fundamental, unvarying characteristic, it naturally allies itself with all other forms of invasion. Historically considered, its function is seen to have always been that of the despot. Its crimes in every age have vastly outnumbered those of mere individuals. Under the motto "The State can do no wrong," it has done every conceivable wrong. It has assumed to protect; but the great need of men has ever been that of protection against the protector. The great deeds of the world have always come from individual initiative. The effect of government, unless checked by resolute resistance, has been to paralyze human activities, and preserve society in a rigid mould. It has maintained the self-stultifying proposition that society is to be strengthened by weakening the individuals who are its component parts. In defiance of the primary law of organic life, that all growth is from within out, it has sought to mechanicalize humanity, and to destroy spontaneity. It substitutes an enforced oneness for a natural unity. It claims a jurisdiction over the individual and his means of subsistence, for which it can show no title. It is logically unsound, and practically detrimental to human welfare.

This is but a small part of the Anarchist indictment against government, as the common despoiler. Each accusation is sustained by countless facts. Our work is to marshall these facts, and to point out the inevitable conclusion which follow from them. This constitutes the terrible Anarchist propaganda, of which so much has been heard. Our ideal is that of a free, ungoverned society, in which the individual, no longer cramped by external influences, no longer exploited on every hand, no longer shut off from access to natural opportunities, no longer forced to war with his fellows for the bare right to exist, may live his own life in all its fulness, and cooperate with his fellows on equal terms, for the benefit of all. That this ideal is practicable, we hold ourselves abundantly able to demonstrate. Hence it is that we invite, first to a thorough investigation, and later to full comradeship, all who dare to hope and to labor for a brighter future for the human race.

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OBSERVATIONS.

There are 70,927 people in Iceland; and they are so free from crime that but one policeman is kept. But then in Iceland the people are hardly Christianized—that is, by the kind of Christianity that misery-manufacturing and murder-making missionaries take to China.

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What do I think of the Chinese question? Well, I think we have no more right to go over to China and loot the country there, than a burglar has to come into our house and "benevolently assimilate" our goods for the greater benefit and enlightenment he would, perhaps, bring to us. For war by a bigger nation upon a weaker and smaller people is but international burglary, glorified by a sort of patriotic pyrotechnics.

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The political campaign is nearly over; and according to my enemies, previously made by playful pen-scratchings in past years, I have not added much to the gaiety of the gods by political and economic "twaddle" on the questions of the day. Perhaps not! But I am getting to be a wiser bird in this satanic night of superstition; and in my private observatory, I watch events both startling and dooming in their consequence, to the vulgar slaves of passion, victims of supreme folly. I see the midnight chariot of damnation crashing into the morning light, with blood upon its wheels, and hear maniac-yelpings near the ground of black despair. No martyr will I be! I prefer not removal by the Juggernaut of mobocracy rolling over me; but as a philosopher see the trend of things, "coming events casting their shadows before"; and knowing the disease must run its course, stating facts as they rise into view, and the resultant effects of the seeds of folly which the whole wide world is now planting in its "red rage" of war.

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Again, this campaign is, to me, too much a foregone conclusion. Bryan's destiny does not place him in the White House chair; and all his howlings will not seat him there. Though the Ship of State may flounder twenty times on the rock-ribbed shores of despot-eyed Imperialism, McKinley's treasure is the White House; and the Party of Imperialism will loot this boasted "land of liberty," by the peaceful taxation of legislative enactment and legalized robbery. In the next five years, Uncle Sam's domain will be drenched with tears, because homes are desolate through widowhood; and the orphan's cry will resound throughout the land. O'er the tears, the blood and the broken hearts of the people, the gold trust of the world rises triumphantly into power, till fanatic hate with mad visage and insane hand, begins a fight to hurl the oppressor from his throne, and gather crusts of bread to feed the hungry carcasses of the underlings. Oh, yes! War's horrid front is now with us in all its "sweet poetic" beauty. The Philippine affair was but the beginning of the end of this "red badge" of carnage; and he who believes in "brutality triumphant" will have his belly full of it ere he gets through. But ere war ceases, thrones will totter and fall; assassination's hand will reach from out the darkness of the night, and stretch in cold and classic clay many in high places, who now deem themselves the most secure. The czar of all the Russias may feel the dagger-thrust; the pope within the Vatican fears poison in the cup; and though the little Napoleon of Imperialism may live during his next term of four more years of time, he will be in a sickening Reign of Terror; and frightened body-guards will be near him night and day. For those who would travel through "seas of blood" unto a throne of power, must face the music and the dancing they themselves have made. "They who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind!"

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Sometimes I think there is a great deal of truth in the saying of St. Simon that nations and societies have their origin or birth, their youth, maturity, old age, decay and death, the same as the individual. So with civilizations and planets. And may I say our boasted civilization is near its finish as the disease of corruption, through spirit of greed in civilized man, has brought it to its present low, degenerate state. Civilization, as it now is, may last a hundred years; and it may not! Being conservative I give it the greater length of time—but these words will prove true and put to mock the scorn of the sinful mighty. "The wages of sin is death!"

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But to more joyful things; for clowns love to dance and sing with idiotic jibberings over a grave of unrest. Some of our inhabitants of Fooldom are great people! One man named Green was married shortly after McKinley's election in 1896. He was a red-hot Republican, and said if ever he had a son, he would name him after the great and only Republican William. Well, the time came when a babe was born. But she was a female! What to do he did not know. He could not call her William McKinley. So he pulled his hair and looked wise. But woman's intuition came to the rescue, as it always does in times of trouble. His wife suggested that the kid be named Hanna. So the poor admirer of the great protectionist named his child Hanna McKinley Green.

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Bryan also has a girl (in the wilds of Dakota) named after him—her full-sounding appellation being Ima Bryan Sucker. It's a good thing that girl can get married some day, and change her name.

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Not long ago I read in one of the newspapers that some one tried to kill Mark Hanna, by dropping a ten-pound block of ice down on his head through a trap-door, while that gentleman was making a speech. That would have been rather a cold death for Mark!

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Oh, yes! McKinley and Roosevelt, the Rough Rider, will be elected in 1900; and they will have lots of fun in this world before the close of their administration.

Los Angeles, Cal. JOHN A. MORRIS.

FREE SOCIETY.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

FOR WHAT DID THE MARTYRS DIE?

Thirteen years have passed away, since the city of Chicago was polluted by one of the foulest of the many judicial crimes that have stained the pages of history. Four innocent men on the gallows, and one in the seclusion of his cell—for the death of Louis Lingg bears unmistakable marks of other hands than his own—paid the penalty of their devotion to the cause of humanity. Capitalist society, conscious of its crimes, winced and writhed under the stern indictment drawn by these men. It feared the verdict of the people, when once their eyes should be opened. Hence the whole plot, the true history of which has been repeated again and again: the brutal hostility of the police to the whole labor movement; the repeated assaults on workingmen, culminating in the murder of striking laborers; the systematic attempts to provoke violent resistance, which might then be crushed by superior force; the creation of a reign of terror, which compelled workingmen to carry arms in their own defence; the outrageous assault on a peaceful meeting; the solitary bomb thrown by some unknown person; the wholesale shooting of inoffensive bystanders; the prompt arrest of all propagandists who could be reached; the bombs and deadly weapons hidden by police, to be by them "discovered"; the trial for murder of men who had not even been present at the meeting where the bomb was thrown; the packed jury; the admittedly perjured testimony; the unheard-of instructions by a judge determined to hang the defendants; the open avowal that men were to be put to death for their opinions, rather than for their deeds; the verdict in direct opposition to the evidence, and to all principles of law; the final tragedy; the silent dead borne to their resting-place.

The deed was consummated. The friends of the working-people were slain. No hand had been raised to rescue or to revenge. The conspiracy had succeeded, even beyond the expectation of its authors. Capitalism could now breathe freely. Did not the pestilent theory of human rights and human liberty lie safely buried in the grave of its bravest champions?

Not so, bloodhounds of the police! Not so, venal and corrupt judge and jury! Not so, vilifiers of the daily press! Not so, political trimmers, who dared not intervene to save innocent lives! Not so, parasites of wealth, who coin the blood of the workers into gold for your coffers! Not so, timid and ignorant people of America! You feared the voices of these men; but you forgot to reckon with their silence! You forgot that to stifle the ideas which had already found lodgement among men, it would have been necessary to strangle the whole human race. The death of Anarchy? Say rather its rebirth. The voices were silenced; the silence has found voice. The words of Spies were indeed prophetic. The gallows as an argument has never proved convincing. The law slew itself on that dark day in Chicago. Its crime was a confession. Anarchy lives, because the truth is in it.

The Chicago martyrs were neither rash nor cowardly. They were found at their posts like men, neither skulking, nor acting in a spirit of mere bravado. They neither courted danger, nor fled from it. Their mission was to champion the cause of labor, and the common rights of manhood; and nobly they fulfilled that mission. They did not ask what the consequences would be to themselves; but when the event came, met it unflinchingly. No more heroic men ever trod the scene of human action. From the first to the last, they were firm, consistent, true. The manly sincerity of their trial speeches would have won the hearts of any but the human tigers, who were thirsting for blood.

Was the sacrifice wasted? Ask yourself that question today, when the cowards are many, and the brave men few. The cause is by no means won; and there are hours when a dun pall seems to obscure the whole horizon of our hopes. There are bitter hatreds without, and too often dissensions within the ranks of the minority who battle for human freedom. Yet we are not discouraged. An over-confident optimism and a despairing pessimism are giving way alike to the calm resolution which accepts the past, faces the present, and builds for the future. We understand our position, and remain confident of the issue.

Today, Anarchy is more alive than ever. Its ideal possibilities are already appealing to many, who cannot yet comprehend the practicability of its methods. Like a leaven, the Anarchist conception is working in every rank of society, and among all classes of men and women. The lines are drawing closer. The final contest is approaching. It may be hastened; it may be delayed; but its coming is as sure as the rising of the sun. The martyred men of Chicago lived and died for the cause we hold dear. We are their successors, the heirs of their labors. In the name of liberty, let us prove worthy of them.

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NOTES.

All who receive this issue are invited to read it carefully. You have heard much of Anarchism from its enemies; is it not fair to see what its friends have to say? Be assured that we are not public enemies. If we sometimes use harsh language of the few, it is for the sake of the many. We contend for liberty—liberty for you, no less than for ourselves. We see in government a peril to humanity. Our ideal is not the reign of universal carnage, but the establishment of peace and fraternity. The methods by which we hope to attain this end, and the grounds for our relentless criticism of existing institutions, are not to be explained in a few words. In the early days of the Darwinian hypothesis, prior to its general acceptance, no man would imagine that the rapid perusal of a few newspaper articles could enable him to form a correct estimate of the degree of credence to be given to the doctrine of evolution. Many data had to be examined, many deductions thoughtfully considered, many alternative propositions carefully weighed, before the scientific world could be brought to recognize the general accuracy of the new theory. No less attention and study, in the light of history, psychology, and sociology, must be given to the Anarchist philosophy, to comprehend its full significance. The basic principles are simple enough, and in all probability amply sufficient to convince an unbiased mind. The prejudices, however, which befog the minds of most men and women, are not to be cleared up without long and patient investigation. Is it not worth the expenditure of a little time and money, to learn the full meaning of a movement which lives and grows, in the face of the persecution of all the governments of the earth? Fifty cents will give you Free Society for one year. Thirty-five cents more will give you "Anarchy" by Malatesta and "Moribund Society and Anarchy" by Jean Grave. This will bring you in touch with the Anarchist movement, and afford a good outline of its foundation principles; after which, other books and pamphlets can be procured, dealing with various phases, and answering particular objections. You have read the other side all your life. Read something of ours; and then judge for yourself.

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Every American should know the truth with regard to the Chicago case. Some part of it is told in this issue. More of it will be repeated from many platforms at the memorial meetings on November 11. A full idea of the whole dark story of American civilization and judicial crime may best be obtained by reading the speeches of the men themselves at their trial, and the reasons of Governor Altgeld for pardoning the survivors. These will be found in the book entitled "The Chicago Martyrs," for sale at this office. As the price is only twenty-five cents, every reader can and should procure it.

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It is vain to hope for liberty through the ballot; inasmuch as the ballot itself is a negation of liberty.

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THEIR LAST WORDS ON THE SCAFFOLD.

There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today.—August Spies.

Let me speak, oh men of America! Will you let me speak, Sheriff Matson? Let the voice of the people be heard! Oh——— —Albert R. Parsons.

Hurrah for Anarchy! This is the happiest moment of my life!—Adolph Fischer.

Hurrah for Anarchy!—George Engel.

CURRENT NEWS.

The San Francisco School Board is evidently composed of thieves, as well as imbeciles. Not satisfied with removing Ebenezer Knowlton, for the crime of giving his pupils practical and much-needed information as to the hygiene of clothing and other physiological matters concerning which their fool parents had kept them in prudish ignorance, these false stewards of the people would now rob him of his salary. Their procedure is of a piece with the general management of the public schools.

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The lumber employes of Chicago are learning what it is to be "free" American laborers. The following press dispatch speaks for itself. Had the event not actually occurred, few would believe it possible. It is, however, but the natural outcome of the government-sustained capitalist wage-system:

Chicago, October 22.—Bloodshed and vilification marked the Republican meeting, held Saturday at Robey street and Blue Island avenue, as a most disgraceful affair.

At 3 o'clock Saturday afternoon, every lumber yard on the West Side was closed down, and the men were ordered to attend the Republican meeting. The employes from each yard were marched in a body; and protests were of no avail. They were threatened that unless they obeyed orders, they would have to look for work the following week. Deputy sheriffs, deputy coroners and firemen were on hand to round up the men. The deputies were armed with iron bars and policemen's clubs.

The remarks of the speakers angered several workmen; and when the latter attempted to leave the audience, they were pounced upon and beaten by the deputies. This caused a general fight; and six patrol wagons were called to take care of the injured men. In the mixup, about 100 persons were hurt.

This is but a single instance. All over the country, large manufacturing plants are being shut down until after election; and the men are threatened with loss of employment, unless the vote goes as their masters wish. What a humbug is the ballot of coercion, which pretends to express the real sentiments of the American people! Both large parties are guilty; and the smaller ones lag behind, only in proportion to their strength and opportunity.

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In a murder trial in San Rafael, Cal., the defence brought witnesses to prove that the murdered man was an atheist, and *therefore* a bad character. It is not the first time that religious bigotry has been invoked to govern the action of a jury.

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Official documents have finally come to light, proving conclusively that the crimes of the maladministration in the Philippine Islands were premeditated from the start. Instructions from McKinley to Otis, and letters and proclamations of Otis himself, show that forcible annexation was all along the end in view. Treachery and absolute falsehood were the means employed, until the time appeared ripe for open war with the men who loved their freedom. All through the affair, Aguinaldo has borne himself as an honorable man and a hero; and McKinley and Otis have shown themselves to be two of the blackest scoundrels unhanged.

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The great coal-miners' strike is practically over. The men have won a ten per cent increase in wages, with a guarantee of its continuance until April 1. The union remains unrecognized. It is a victory, but a small one. For a time, conditions will be slightly improved. It rests with the men themselves whether they will take advantage of this breathing space, to prepare to maintain their rights more fully.

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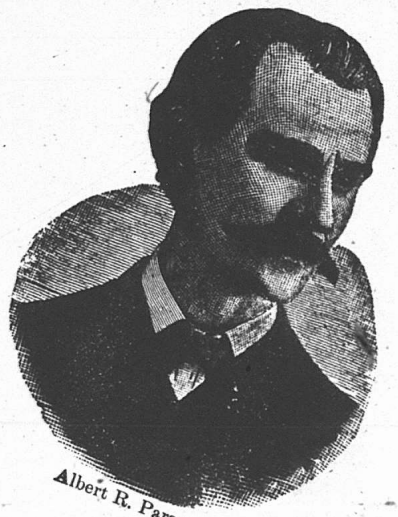
One would scarcely credit the fact that in Stockton, Cal., presumably reputable physicians could be found who, on their own confession, committed to an insane asylum a young girl in whom they discovered no trace of lunacy, on the unsupported word of relatives, who wished to get rid of her. It would at least be supposed that, under a government which pretends to protect all its subjects, there would be some redress for the victim of the vile plot, and some punishment for the physicians and other villains connected with it. But it seems that this cruellest of crimes can be committed with absolute impunity. Even when enough friends are found to force an investigation and the release of the deeply wronged girl, governmental red-tape seeks to force her back under the guardianship of the inhuman father who conceived and perpetrated the horrid act. The name of this monster, whose wealth is his shelter, is Philip B. Frazer. Does anybody believe that such things would be possible in a free society?

August Vincenz Theodor Spies.



Albert R. Parsons.

Georg Engel.

Louis Lingg.

Adolph Fischer.

OUR MARTYRED COMRADES.

DISCORDS.

Practically every Protestant religious paper in the country is supporting McKinley and imperialism. This is the Church of today, the bulwark of invasion, of capitalism, of war, of the infamies of conquest. Could it, in more distinct terms, proclaim itself the enemy of the working classes, and of all the larger hopes of humanity? It is for the labor crusher, and against his victim; for the oppressor, and against the oppressed; for dollars, and against manhood; for tyranny, and against liberty. And yet some clergymen have the temerity to express astonishment that "the Church has lost its hold on the masses!"

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The Chicago Inter Ocean opines that "the badness of the anti-imperialist cause is shown in the badness of the verse it inspires." This oracle of jingoism picks out the worst examples it can find, utters the usual whine of "blasphemy" commonly raised by supporters of an indefensible cause, but fails to point out any superior productions from the imperialistic muse. As a matter of fact, the theme has not inspired much real poetry on either side; but if comparisons are to be drawn, some of the anti-imperialist verse of Ernest Crosby and Ella Wheeler Wilcox will outrank any poetic expression of American imperialism that has yet been given to the world.

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There is no such thing as "individual liberty," except as the individual conforms to the customs and usages of general society.

A laborer in his blue jeans in a fashionable restaurant is as impossible a proposition as a millionaire in his shirt-sleeves at the opera.

Society has neither the courage nor the inclination to allow any of its members to dress or act differently from any other members—A. Clavering Gunter in San Francisco Fxaminer.

"Society" is based on the individual. A society of slaves will be a slave society. A society of conventional puppets will be merely a puppet aggregation. Sweeping declarations, like those of Mr. Gunter, are abundant; but they will not bear analysis. Strengthen the individual; and you strengthen the whole. Individuality is life; conformity is death. In the words of Walt Whitman: "Produce great persons; the rest follows."

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NOTES ON THE STRIKE.

It is said: "General Gobin will not allow the miners to hold secret meetings."

How about the operators holding secret meetings? Yet men tell us, this great republic grants equal liberty to its citizens. How well this claim is verified, let the facts testify. In the mining districts of the coal strike, we see the property of a great corporation protected by the military. The representatives of that corporation meet daily behind closed doors. Fortified by a full stomach and no fear of immediate want, they have full opportunity to discuss the situation calmly, and to formulate a course of action that will lead to to their own advantage, and personal benefit. This is business. Military despotism smiles benignly.

On the other hand, we see a class of men whose very existence depends upon the privilege of working for others, and whose comfort and happiness and family welfare depend upon the terms they arrange with their employers. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that they meet their fellow workers, and discuss plans whereby they may get a little benefit from their toil. The business interests of the striking miners demand that they use every peaceable method at their command, in order to induce other workingmen to stand by them, and to refuse to take their places. But how ruthless is the treatment of their poor interests! When they undertake to march to other mines, in the hope that a fiery enthusiasm will prevail on their fellow miners to lay down their tools and join hands in a just cause, they are confronted by the military, forbidden to march, forbidden to hold secret meetings, and forced to submit to their masters' terms or starve. Hemmed in by martial law and dire necessity, how hopeless are these feeble attempts of landless, homeless men, to accomplish anything that will better their condition! It is astonishing to consider the degradation that men will submit to, rather than disregard the legal rights of those who control and monopolize natural resources.

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"The funeral of the strikers, killed in the Shenandoah riot, ended in an impressive spectacle"!!

It ought to have ended in something else. Impressive funerals are getting stale. When the government deputizes scoundrels to murder unarmed workingmen, then and there should a small hell be kindled for their benefit. It is high time the rulers were taught a lesson. The results might tend to lessen the number of impressive spectacles of the above character.

Caplinger Mills, Mo. KATE AUSTIN.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The political situation this year presents many features which make it particularly interesting. There has probably never been a presidential campaign in this country in which the issues have been so complicated and far reaching, or which has excited so much feeling. The ordinary political questions which have been presented in past years have given way to questions of greater moment; even the tariff is no longer considered a paramount issue as compared with the great questions now before the people for settlement; and which the coming presidential election will go far to settle one way or the other. While past presidential campaigns have been wholly political, carried on to determine the supremacy of one or the other great political parties, this one has a distinct economic basis; and its far reaching influence is but thinly disguised behind the political mask which covers it. In other words it is a contest between the masses and the classes, with all that such a contest portends. It makes no difference that the masses, in this case, are the conservative laboring and middle class people, and that the mere handful of radicals with their advanced theories are not even considered in this case; the latter are a body to be heard from later, while the real struggle at present is between the conservative elements of the rich and the poor.

On one side we have the important question of imperialism, which means not alone territorial expansion abroad, but what is far more important, a stronger, more arbitrary, militant government at home. With this question is raised every fundamental idea upon which this government is based; the Declaration of Independence, the constitutional rights of citizens, of States and of the nation—all are being set aside in this new policy of power and wealth aggrandizement. This may be said to constitute the aggressive policy of the Republican Party, in so far as that party is aggressive in this campaign.

On the other hand is the question of free silver, to the restoration of which Bryan and the Democratic Party stand unequivocally committed. In opposing free silver and advocating the gold (single) standard, which is the money of concentrated wealth, monopoly and combined power, the Republican Party further proves itself to be the party of imperialism. Free silver and the double standard are essentially democratic, even as the American Declaration of Independence and the constitution regarding territorial (foreign) expansion and colonization are democratic. These are the two great issues in this campaign, although one needs but to read the platform of the Democratic Party for further confirmation that that party (whether as a matter of principle or of policy I know not, nor in considering the matter from my present standpoint does it much matter) has set itself up as a conservative champion of the demands of the great majority of the conservative common people. This is why our Single Tax friends are almost to a man Bryanites.

But there is another point from which to view the situation. If it is true, as asserted by Marxian Socialists and believed by many economists of other schools, that the present economic and commercial system must run its course through monopoly and the absorption of the world's markets before we can have a radical change—if it is true that we must expand our markets into the Philippine Islands, into China, into Africa and all other savage and semi-civilized countries, under the regime of the present commercial system—if this be sound economic doctrine, then whatever force or influence tends to hasten such a ripening of the system is a really progressive movement, while all influences tending to retard such growth are retroactive and retrogressive. From this view, the Democratic Party, with its demands for a stand-still or reactionary policy is the party of retrogression; while the Republican Party is the real party of progress, even though it works out its destiny through imperialism and trails of blood abroad and at home. In the light of modern ideas, the return to a silver basis, while it may be democratic, appears to be a backward step. Intelligent radicals of every shade of belief look forward to the demonetization of gold rather than to the restoration of silver as a step in the right direction; and it may be that the old fogyish ideas of abiding by the constitution and the Declaration of Independence, which the most radical also believe we have outgrown, are just as much a sign of a retroactive policy.

In the complexities of the situation as presented, what should be the attitude and conduct of our Anarchist comrades? I know that many of them, carried away by their sympathies, and perhaps influenced to a considerable extent by the hope that Bryan's election would in some way hasten the Social Revolution, have decided to vote this year for the first time in many years, and to vote with the Democratic Party. Some of them will undoubtedly vote for Debs and the Social Democracy, although in so doing they can have no other purpose than to slightly increase the hopeless minority of that party. They may contend that they are voting for Debs through principle; so will many who vote for Bryan declare; but I question whether an Anarchist can vote for any of the candidates through principle, inasmuch as the principle of Anarchism is opposed to electing any kind of rulers or governors. It appears to me that this is a fight between the plutocrats on one side and the conservative middle and working class on the other, and that radicals should take no part in the contest whatever. Let them fight out their differences as best they can. The consistent Anarchist will stand aloof, an interested spectator of a struggle which, while it does not possess sufficient vital interest to induce him to take an active part, is yet fraught with deep meaning in the unfoldment of the economic panorama. It can make no immediate difference to us as Anarchists which side wins. We are not interested in "good government," or in any kind of government, except to abolish it. Bryan may make a better president than McKinley; but how would that advance the cause of Anarchism? This is not our fight. Our time is not yet.

I cannot do better than to close this article with a brief excerpt from an address by Elisee Reclus to our French comrades several years ago, which is just as applicable today and in this country as it was at the time and place given:

To vote is to abdicate. To choose one or more masters for any period, short or long, is to renounce your own sovereignty. Whether it be an absolute monarch, a constitutional prince, or a plain representative clothed with a little bit of authority, the candidate whom you elevate to the throne or into the chair, will be your superior. You put forward men who will be above the laws, since they take it upon themselves to edit them, and whose mission is to make you obey. . . . As the game changes, the man changes with it. Today the candidate bows to you, and perhaps too obsequiously; tomorrow he will straighten up, and perhaps a little too rigidly. He was begging votes; he will now give you orders. . . . The atmosphere of these legislative bodies is unhealthy to breathe. You are sending your representatives to a place of corruption; you must therefore not be astonished when they become corrupted. Therefore, do not abdicate; do not place your destiny in the hands of men rendered incapable by force of circumstances. Do not vote. Instead of confiding your interests to others, defend them yourselves. Instead of employing agents to propose a line of future action, act yourselves. Opportunities never fail men with a determined will. To throw upon others the responsibility of your conduct, is to lack manly courage.

WM. HOLMES.

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SOCIALISM AND ANARCHY.

Why am I an Anarchist? Because I believe in its lofty ideal. Why do I support Socialism? Because I know that both are the children of the same parent—the unjust conditions of present society; and I also know that to reach the heights of the first, we must avail ourselves of the services of the second.

Not every man is a hypocrite, who believes in the political action of Socialists to attain the desired result; for Socialism is the threshhold into the Anarchistic heaven. (1)

Every one, with unprejudiced mind, knows, or at least ought to know, that true Socialism is nothing but reorganized industry, without any politics in it, under the management of the workers themselves; and also every one ought to know that to derive the best results, we must select the most practical men as managers. (2)

Now as to the honesty or sincerity of those in the political movement, I believe they are as honest as conditions and circumstances permit them to be.

The fault is that some men have no faith in themselves, and accordingly measure everybody by their own standard. When man loses faith in humanity, he condemns himself; for he is a part of it. (3)

Why do Anarchists protest when the whole fraternity is judged by the deed of one; when they themselves apply the same measure to judge those who

happen to reconstruct society in a different way? (4)

Isn't it ridiculous to express sympathy for the Boers, Filipinos, or Chinese, when we know that the masses are not fighting for liberty, but for Oom Paul Kruger, Aguinaldo or Li Hung Chang on one side, and Queen Vic and a host of parasites on the other; and of which both stand for the present unjust system? (5)

Accordingly the Chicago martyrs were also hypocrites; for they wanted to reform society politically, to reach just economic conditions. (6) I admit that there are inconsistent members in the Socialist ranks; but we Anarchists must not claim to monopolize the virtue of consistency and justice. (7)

The disaster of Galveston would occur only once under Socialism; for there, like in a state claimed by Anarchists, the human abode would be built in safe places, as far as human minds could select; there would be no need for commercial centers, but only for centers of industries; and there would be no need for the workers to crowd their homes around the places where they work as at present; for they would have the time and means to go to and from their work.

Yes, comrades, Anarchy and Socialism are twins, born from the same mother, to bring them to maturity. Toleration must be the nurse. It don't help the cause to split hairs and hunt flaws. Meet the enemies where we can; and when we do, we shall combine our strength to teach them a lesson.

When we unite for action, we comand respect, and are sure of an early success.

Practice what you preach.—toleration. (8)

Tacoma, Wash. E. F. ROTSHECK.

COMMENT.

1. Here is where Comrade Rotsheck mistakes the Anarchist position. We do not by any means class all political Socialists as hypocrites. In fact, we respect and esteem many sincere workers among them. But we surely have a right to criticize methods which we believe to be unsound. Authoritarian acts can never form "the threshhold" of liberty. We oppose political action, because it is based on false principles, and ineffective in its results. But we do not denounce as "hypocrites" those honest Socialists who are following their own sincere convictions. We merely point out the fact that Anarchists cannot consistently join them in methods which are so clearly opposed to the aims of our propaganda.

2. It is this "true Socialism," "without any politics *in it*," for which Anarchism stands, and which political Socialists are going the wrong way to secure.

3. We do not dispute the sincerity of our Socialist friends; we simply question their judgment.

4. We expose certain facts, as showing the corrupting influence of politics. We do not condemn the rank and file, but explain how they are misled.

5. It is not "ridiculous" to "express sympathy" with all who are resisting invasion, whatever may be their own shortcomings.

6. The Chicago martyrs had found the uselessness of political action, and neither taught nor practised it.

7. By no means; but if we are convinced of the correctness of our principles, we should show ourselves "inconsistent" in deserting the plain path to which they point.

8. "Toleration" by all means, but not compromise. It is not intolerant to defend our principles. Free Society gives more space to opponents, in proportion to its size, than any Socialist paper in the country. We are always ready to "hear the other side." How many Socialist papers can say the same?

FROM THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The secret Conference held in Paris by the revolutionary Socialists and Anarchists of different countries of the world declares itself in favor of federation among the revolutionary groups. The Conference invites the groups of Paris, who have taken the initiative in organizing the Workers' Revolutionary International Congress, to remain united, in the hope that in all centres of population, revolutionary groups, libraries, studying clubs, etc., will come to an understanding on the basis of Communism and the Social Revolution, and on the principles of the liberty and autonomy of the groups. The Conference invites the revolutionary groups of all countries to establish by provincial or national congresses, or by other means, provincial, national, and international bureaus of correspondence. These bureaus of correspondence will have for their aim the binding together and the consolidating of the relations between the comrades, to make their understanding more effective, not omitting the necessary precautions.

The English groups are invited by the International Conference to prepare on a date to be fixed later, the convocation of an international revolutionary workingmen's congress to be held in England, as the country where there is more liberty than in France [the same farce I think—E G.] in spite of the absence of a ministry for the defence of the republic, with Social Democratic or radical Socialist ministers. The Conference regrets greatly not to be able to reach all the foreign delegates, and to have been unable to put itself in communication with all the groups in Paris, and the many delegates from the many French provinces. It has already been very difficult to unite, in spite of the French government, and to blind the Paris police.

DICTIONARY FOR WORKINGMEN.

BEE—A stinging satire on human civilization.

CAPITAL—A subject which the laboring-men must not talk about.

CHARITY—The remorse of robbery.

COMMERCE—The Robin Hood of respectability, who takes from the poor to give to the rich.

COMPETITION—A struggle in which millions are trampled to death, that thousands may mount on their bodies.

EMIGRATION—A quack medicine, prescribed for the cure of discontent.

LABOR—A mouse invented as a plaything to a cat. Capital is the cat.

——A cornfield where thieves get the harvest, and the owner the gleanings.

LUXURY—The rich cream taken by the few from the skim-milk allotted to the many.

MONEY—The largest slave-holder in the world.

ORGANIZATION—A conspiracy on the part of working men to better their condition.

PARTY—An organization to humbug the poor voter, run by wire-pullers in the interest of the monied men.

PAUPER—A skeleton left by the wolves after feeding.

POLITICAL PLATFORM—A lot of planks covered with molasses to catch flies.

POVERTY—The Siberian mine wherein slaves dig out wealth for their masters.

PRISON—The grave where State-doctors bury their murdered patients.

——An oven, where society puts newly-made crime to harden.

SHOP—The bellows of the industrial organ, the blower of which is paid better than the artist who executes the composition.

——A narrow sandy channel for wealth to pass through, which absorbs much and partially distributes the rest.

SOCIALIST—A word used to keep men from studying the problem of human welfare; a man who flatters labor, but who generally studies the interest of the men and cliques who put him into office.

TAXES—Feathers plucked from all birds to line the nests of a few.

TYRANNY—Knocking people on to their knees for the crime of standing upright.

WAGES—A collar round the neck of modern serfs, by which to proclaim their independence.

——Food for cows between milking times.

——Gold-dust thrown by capital in the eyes of labor.

WEALTH—Something which most people want, but of which those who create the most get the least share. —The Labor Record.

CHORDS.

It is often urged, in extenuation of their claims to wealth, that the richest men work hardest and longest hours. Let the claim be granted. But does the character of work have nothing to do with the matter? The most skillful, deep-planned bank burglars and forgers work hard; but will that justify their having plenty? They take from others, without producing or giving an equivalent. So do all those who possess great fortunes. The working people support the wealthy—the wealthy do not support the working people.—Appeal to Reason.

The silk-worm spins its task, and dies. The rich get the silk for their adornment. The workingman performs his task, grows old, and fills a forgotten grave. The rich riot on the wealth he creates.—Social Democratic Herald.

"Is marriage a failure?" "I should say not!" remarked an Oregon farmer. "Why, there's Lucindy gits up in the mornin, milks six cows, gits breakfast, starts four children to skewl, looks arter the other three, feeds the hens, likewise the hogs, likewise some motherless sheep, skims 20 pans of milk, washes the clothes, gits dinner, et cetery, et cetery! Think I could hire anybody to do it for what she gits? Not much! Marriage, sir, is a success—a great success."—Woman's Journal.

The Letter-Box.

J. M., Philadelphia, Pa.—To do as you suggest, would entail a great amount of extra labor each week, if applied to all subscribers. The numbering system is so simple that any subscriber can see where he stands at a glance.

S. T. B., Sherburne, Vt.—Nothing was intentionally omitted from your article. On looking up the matter, I find one unimportant phrase left out by accident.

L. L. A., Cincinnati, O.—Free Communism involves no discrimination against mental workers, and condemns nobody to starvation. It assures well-being to all, and only asks that each assist in the perpetuation of the common prosperity, by contributing according to his ability. In the absence of parasitism and exploitation, the amount of manual labor which each would perform would be merely enough for healthful exercise, leaving abundant time and strength for intellectual exertion. Moreover, the right of secession from the Commune would always be open to the dissatisfied individual. There is no room for tyranny here. Under Anarchism, the Communistic method could only last, while it secured the liberty and prosperity of all. If any better method could be devised, the individuals would make haste to adopt it.

J. W., Newark, N. Y.—I congratulate you on your keen sense of humor, which enables you to see a "joke" in the exposure of your own inconsistency. Your own book is so keen a refutation of your present attitude, that no other is required. You are not called on to choose either Bryan or McKinley. If others are foolish enough to do so, you need not share the responsibility. If you read your Bible more carefully, you would find that the *correct* translation of the passage you cite is: "Make to yourselves friends *by means of* the mammon of unrighteousness," which would hardly sustain your deduction. Without admitting any divine authority on the part of the Bible, I submit to your careful (if not prayerful) consideration the passage, "He that is not for me is against me"; in the light of which a re-reading of "Life Without a Master" is to be recommended.

W. F., Los Angeles, Cal.—How can the truth be brought out, except by a free interchange of ideas? No one of us is infallible; and only a searching criticism can bring many a plausible fallacy to light. Free speech for all sides is the surest road to a progressive propaganda. The alternative is a pope, who is incapable of error.

Literature.

The Theory and Practice of Human Magnetism. By H. Durville. Chicago, Ill., The Psychic Research Company. Price, $1.

An interesting book on an interesting subject. As to its accuracy and reliability, those who have investigated the subject most thoroughly must judge for themselves. The theory is at least plausible, although in a few instances certain rather debatable matters are asserted with a little too much positiveness.

In Chicago.

A Memorial Meeting in memory of our martyred comrades will be held Sunday, November 11, at 8 P. M., in Central Music Hall. Able speakers will address the meeting. All invited.

In Philadelphia.

Commemoration of the thirteenth anniversary of the death of the Chicago martyrs, on Saturday, November 17, 1900, 8 o'clock P. M., at 1024-26 Lombard Street. Speeches by John Most, P. Esteve, H. Weinberg, G. Brown and Voltairine de Cleyre. Admission 10 cents.

For St. Louis, Mo.

Thirteenth anniversary in honor of the Chicago martyrs, to be held on Saturday, November 10, 1900, at 8 o'clock P. M., at Neumeyers Hall, Eighth St. and Lafayette Ave. Admission 10 cents, to be paid at the door.

Meetings of comrades are held every Wednesday evening at 1351 South 13th St. All welcome.

In San Francisco.

Socialists and Anarchists will unite in a Memorial Meeting, Sunday, November 11, 8 P. M., at the Turk Street Temple, in honor of the Chicago martyrs. Emil Liess will lecture in German, and James F. Morton, Jr. in English. Music will be furnished by the Freie Deutsche Gemeinde and the Socialist Maennerchor. All friends of liberty are urged to be present.

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GENERAL OUTLINE FOR A COURSE OF ANARCHISTIC STUDY.

BY C. L. JAMES.

SUBJECTS OF LESSONS.

1. Origins of Political, Economic, and Religious Authority.
2. Softening of Authority by Culture.
3. Civil Government the Stay of Remaining Authority and Barbarism.
4. Freedom Stimulates; Authority Depresses Civilization.
5. Government not needed for Protection against Violence.
6. Belief in Government Essentially Superstitious.
7. Science the Remedy for Superstition.
8. Progress in the Right Direction.
9. The Anarchist Movement in History.
10. Anarchism not Dependent on any Metaphysical System.
11. A Peril to Anarchism, The Movement in Favor of Ignorance.
12. Anarchism and Personal Conduct.

LESSON V.

GOVERNMENT NOT NEEDED FOR PROTECTION AGAINST VIOLENCE.

The Subject in General: Lombroso, *The Criminal;* Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal;* August Drahms, *The Criminal;* (these books contain the substance of Lombroso with criticism, in Ellis appreciative, in Drahms recalcitrant); Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology, Vol. II.*

Barbarous Punishments have Totally Failed to Reduce the Amount of Crime.—Beccaria, *Crimes and Penalties;* Wines, *Punishment and Reformation.*

Humane Discipline is Little Better for the Alleged Purpose.—Wines, Drahms, cit.

Penal Institutions Increase Crime (by making young offenders worse).—Wines, Drahms, cit.

They Increase it also by Converting Sparodic Pilferers into a Trade, in which the Thief is the Proletaire, the Receiver the Employing Capitalist, whose Power Consists in His Ability to Give up the Thief.—Vidocq, *Memoirs; Jonathan Wild,* account of in Ellis, cit.

Suppression of Theft by Punishing Receiver not Practicable.—Vidocq, and others cited above.

Anthropology Resolves Criminals into Born, Criminaloid, Habitual, Occasional, Impulsive, Collective.—Lombroso, cit.

They may be Classed Differently, but the Difference is not very Material.—Ellis, Drahms, cit.

Up to Habitual They Cannot be Reformed.—Lombroso, cit.

Occasionals may be Reformed by Detection and Warning; They are Made Worse by Imprisonment.—Ellis, Drahms, cit.

Evil Comes of Imprisoning any Criminal Except the Most Dangerous "Born" Specimens.—Ellis, cit.

These Born Criminals themselves admit the necessity of their being imprisoned (case of Jesse Pomeroy in Boston papers of his time, others in criminalogical works cited.) So does every one else; therefore government is unnecessary for that purpose. (Student's Common Sense.)

Defensive War can be Conducted Better by a People Acting *sua sponte* than by a Government.—Mommsen, *Rome, Vol. II, Chaps. II, VI; Any History of the Revolutionary War,* (Bancroft preferred); *Any History of the French Revolution,* (Carlyle); Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic,* and *United Netherlands;* Malleson, *Refounding of the German Empire, Chap. XV.* (Compare in all these cases what the invaded people did through their government and what they did without it.)

LESSON VI.

BELIEF IN GOVERNMENT ESSENTIALLY SUPERSTITIOUS.

The Subject in General: Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology, Part I, Part III, Chaps. III-XI, Appendix A, Part IV, Part V, Chaps. I-VI, Part VI;* Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Warship,* and *Sartor Resartus.*

Nature of Superstition,—the Idea that Man can Attain the Unconditioned.—Herbert Spencer, *The Unknowable* (in his *First Principles*).

Phases of Superstition: 1.—The Theological, (which sees the unconditioned in natural objects, supposed gods, demons, etc.). 2.—The Metaphysical, (which sees it in abstractions, i. e. theories about everything in general equivalent to nothing in particular).—Comte, *Cours de Philosophie Positive, Vol. I.*

Government Begins as a Superstition of the "Theological" Type.—Carlyle, cit.; Buckle, *History of Civilization.*

It Becomes "Metaphysical." Example,—Blackstone's *Commentaries.* Criticism.—Austin, *Province of Jurisprudence;* Encyclopedia Britannica, articles *Government* and *Law.*

Metaphysical Superstition of Orthodox Economy.—Proudhon, *Economic Contradictions.*

The Main Governmental Superstitions, Government *to pan,* (the whole thing), Anarchy the Worst of Evils, Rebellion the Chief of Crimes.—Carlyle, *Shooting Niagara;* Aristotle, *Politics;* Plato, *Republic;* Blackstone, cit.; Webster, *Reply to Hayne;* Lincoln, *Inaugural 1861;* Criticised, Macaulay on *Southey* and on *Gladstone;* Vattel, *Law of Nations;* Paine, *Crisis;* Jefferson, *Works, Vol. IV, p. 114* and following, *Vol. VIII, pp. 224, 413, 543, 589, 604.*

This (Essentially Theological) Superstition Remains in Very Liberal Persons.—Lincoln, cit., *Speeches and Letters;* Webster, cit.; Paine, *Rights of Man.*

"Individualism," — government reduced to a committee "of the people, for the people, (appointed) by the people," to protect life and possessions—government minus superstitious faith in it—is a mongrel which gives birth to nothing. Compare Mill, *Liberty,* which illustrates, with J. F. Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,* which criticises.

Governmental Superstitions Criticised in Detail.—Regulation of Trade.—Smith, *Wealth of Nations;* Bentham, *Defence of Usury;* Ricardo on *Bank Notes.*—Punishment.—Wines, Ellis, cit.—Protection against Disorders and Invasion.—Burke, *Vindication of Natural Society.*—Marriage.—Bishop on *Marriage and Divorce.* Rights of Property.—Grote, *Greece, Part II, Chap. XI;* Proudhon, *What is Property?;* Marx, *Capital,* Chaps. on *Capital* and *Wage Labor.*

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